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ABSTRACT

THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT WAS TO IDENTIFY CHARACTERISTICS OF SPANISH-SURNAME FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES AND TO RELATE THESE CHARACTERISTICS TO THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE DATA FOR THE REPORT WERE DERIVED FROM THE SPECIAL CENSUS REPORT FOR 1950 AND 1960. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSES INDICATED THAT THE SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION HAD HIGHER MOBILITY AND HIGHER FERTILITY RATES THAN OTHER WHITE POPULATIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST. IN ADDITION, OVER ONE-HALF OF THE RURAL SPANISH-SURNAME FAMILIES AND ONE-THIRD OF THE URBAN FAMILIES HAD INCOMES OF LESS THAN $3,000 IN 1959. HOWEVER, THE PROPORTIONS OF THE SPANISH-SURNAME LABOR FORCE IN PROFESSIONAL, CLERICAL, CRAFTS, AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS INCREASED, AND THE PROPORTIONS IN FARM AND NONFARM LABOR DECLINED BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IMPROVED BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960 BUT REMAINED BELOW THE NATIONAL MEDIAN. CULTURAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DISADVANTAGED POSITION OF THE SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION WERE USE OF SPANISH AS THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE AND CONTINUED CULTURAL ISOLATION FROM ANGLO SOCIETY. (TL)

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LOW-INCOME FAMILIES IN THE SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION OF THE SOUTHWEST

ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE · U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE · AGRICULTURAL ECONOMIC REPORT NO. 112

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HIGHLIGHTS

The 3.5 million Spanish-surname people of five Southwestern States (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas) represented 12 percent of the total population of that area in 1960. Although predominantly rural only a few decades ago, the Spanish-surname population as a whole has become one of the most urban ethnic groups in the United States. In the Southwest, it was nearly 80 percent urban in 1960.

There is considerable mobility among the Spanish-surname people as indicated by the fact that only 43 percent of the group 5 years old and over lived in the same house in 1960 as in 1955, compared with a U. S. average of 50 percent. The highest incidence of movement was among farm males in Arizona and California where about 53 and 25 percent, respectively, had lived outside of the United States 5 years earlier.

The Spanish-surname population has higher fertility rates than the other white population groups of the Southwest, particularly in the rural sector. The resulting large size of family contributes to a high dependency ratio in which there is a disproportionately large percentage of the total under 15 years of age in each residence group.

A substantial number of Spanish-surname people in these five States had family incomes of less than $3,000 in 1959. More than half of the rural families, and nearly a third of the urban, fell in this income category which is associated with poverty conditions. The areas of greatest concentration of low income coincided with those of high density of Spanish-surname population.

Labor force participation among Spanish people of working age was slightly lower than for the Southwest as a whole in 1960, but was higher for both rural and urban workers in that year than in 1950. About half of the rural Spanish-surname employed persons were engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, nearly twice as large a proportion as in the total rural population of the Southwest. One-fifth to one-fourth of the urban population was in trade and manufacturing.

In the rural population, about 46 percent of the Spanish-surname males worked as farm laborers compared with only about 15 percent of the total rural population of the Southwest in 1960. Although a large number of these people are still in farm labor and in other low-income work, occupational mobility has improved somewhat among both rural and urban groups. The proportions of the labor force in professional, clerical, crafts, and service occupations increased between 1950 and 1960, and the proportions in farm and nonfarm labor declined.

Despite overall improvement in educational achievement of the Spanish-surname people between 1950 and 1960, their general level of attainment was below the national level in 1960. Median school years completed for all three residence groups in all five States were below the national median. The differential was most pronounced in the farm sector. Other educational

disadvantages were revealed in the proportions with little or no schooling and early dropout rates, especially in the rural population.

While limited information is available on housing and general living conditions of this ethnic group, it is known that seasonal and migratory workers have especially difficult problems in finding adequate accommodations for themselves and their families. Because of low income, sporadic employment, and migration to seasonal jobs, suitable housing and the usual amenities are often unattainable.

In addition to the economic factors operating in the lives of the Spanish-surname people, social and cultural factors have contributed to their relatively disadvantaged position. Their tendency to remain Spanish-speaking constitutes a barrier to higher educational achievement, to finding and holding jobs, and to establishing wider social contacts in the society in which they live. The large size of their families requires that their low incomes be stretched, and their cultural isolation from Anglo society restricts their participation in many community programs and activities, a problem accentuated by the necessity of many to leave home communities for varying periods of time to find work.

With improved educational facilities and suitable job training, leading to higher income and greater social and occupational mobility, many of the presently adverse conditions among the Spanish-surname people will be ameliorated. Many of the problems are not easy to solve and will take time, but with recognition and understanding of their nature, public programs can alleviate the situation of the low-income segment of the Spanish-surname people of the Southwest.

LOW-INCOME FAMILIES IN THE SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION OF THE SOUTHWEST 1/

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INTRODUCTION

The Spanish-surname population of the Southwest contains many low-income families and has unsolved social and economic problems. This report focuses attention on the characteristics of these families which are associated with the special nature of their problems, so that there may be better understanding of them.

For purposes of this report, the Southwest comprises the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, an area quite diverse in its people, geography, climate, and culture. Its most important common denominator is its history of Spanish settlement, evidences of which are still apparent throughout the area. This Spanish influence, combined with Indian and Mexican cultural traits, constitutes a definite pattern even after many years of Anglo dominance.

Throughout the long, irregular belt that stretches from the southern tip of Texas to the Pacific coast of California, large groups of people have retained much of their original Spanish or mixed Mexican heritage. These two groups make up the majority of the population in many counties of southern Texas, the central portion of New Mexico, and the southern part of Colorado, and from 10 to 50 percent of the population in most of the counties near the Mexican border. There are 26 counties in 4 Southwestern States in which 50 percent or more of the population is Spanish-surname; 17 of these counties are in Texas and 6 in New Mexico.

Much of the Southwest is relatively old in terms of actual settlement. Juan de Oñate conquered and colonized what is now the State of New Mexico in 1598 for the King of Spain, about 9 years before the establishment of Jamestown (10), and Santa Fe was an important urban settlement in 1609 (2). 2/ No important settlement is recorded for Colorado until about the middle of the 19th century, but Spanish explorers entered the State from Mexico in the early 16th century in search of fortune. It is believed that expeditions by groups of Spaniards during the 17th century, moving out in all directions from Juan de Oñate's settlement on the Rio Grande, included the mountains of Colorado. Both Texas and Arizona had Spanish settlements before the end of the

---

1/ The designation of Spanish-surname used here is found in the Special Census Reports for 1950 and 1960, entitled Persons of Spanish Surname, from which the statistical data for this report were obtained. The Census classifies people in this category if their surnames are of Spanish origin or derivation.

2/ Underscored numbers in parentheses refer to items listed in the Bibliography, p. 27.

17th century. Although California was explored by the Spanish as early as the middle of the 16th century, it was not settled until the latter part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. In 1790, the white population of the Southwest was nearly all Spanish, and numbered about 23,000 persons-- 15,000 in New Mexico, 6,000 in Texas, and about 1,000 each in Arizona and California (2).

Most of these early settlements were concentrated in the valleys and low plateaus of the region, where the more fertile soils could be found, and where the people could best protect themselves from Indian raids. Hostile Indian tribes remained a danger to Southwestern settlements until the latter part of the 19th century.

A unique characteristic of the Spanish Southwest, especially until late in the 19th century, was the village or nucleated pattern of agricultural settlement encouraged by the Spanish through their grants of large holdings both to individuals and to groups of settlers. This pattern led to the virtual exclusion of the small, individually owned and operated family farm. Although many of these settlements can be found today, especially in New Mexico, Arizona, and California, only a few have retained common land; most of it has now been divided into small family holdings. Formerly, in both the land grant and hacienda type of settlements, families lived close together, while their fields, with large areas of common or estate land available for pasture, dry land farming, and supplies of firewood, were located at some distance from the village (5).

Although many areas of the Southwest have long been identified with poverty, some sections in which Spanish people have not settled in large numbers have always been productive. A recent historical work by Marc Simmons (7) indicates that the economy of much of the area was considered productive by both the Spanish and the succeeding Mexican governments. Trade with the present Mexican States of Chihuahua and Sonora once was brisk and of such volume as to give the people of the Southwest a relatively high level of living.

At the present time, land in areas such as the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico, the Salt River Valley of Arizona, and the Imperial, San Joaquin, and other valleys of California represents some of the most productive and high-priced farmland in the Nation. The majority of the rural Spanish-surname people do not, however, share greatly in the abundance of these valleys.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The white Spanish-surname population in the five States of the Southwest totaled nearly 3.5 million in 1960 (13), 12 percent of the total population of the area. This 3.5 million figure represents an increase of more than 50 percent over 1950, due in part to a more complete identification of the Spanish in the 1960 census, and in part to a high birth rate and a steady flow of immigrants from Mexico. Approximately 1.4 million people with Spanish surnames lived in California and 1.4 million in Texas. Each of these States had more than twice as many as the other three States combined.

The overall increase in Spanish-surname population in the Southwest from 1950 to 1960 was about 1.2 million. Population shifts during this intercensal period, as for the general population, were clearly from rural to urban, and within the rural population, generally from farm to nonfarm (table 1). The large increase in the urban population was partly offset by a small decline in the rural population, and within the rural population, nonfarm gain was at the expense of the farm population. Urban population increased in all five States; farm population decreased in all States except Arizona.

Residence

The Spanish-surname population of the Southwest, predominantly rural a few decades ago, has become one of the most urban ethnic groups in the Nation. Approximately 80 percent of this total group was urban in 1960, representing a rise from 66 percent in 1950. The Spanish-surname population in Texas was 68 percent urban in 1950, but 79 percent by 1960; in California, the change was from 76 percent in 1950 to 85 percent in 1960. Changes in urban proportions were even greater in the other three States, although the absolute numbers involved were smaller (table 1).

Nativity

About 85 percent of the Spanish-surname people were natives in 1960; more than half of them (55 percent) were native born of native parentage. About 15 percent were foreign born, mostly in Mexico. The proportion of natives in this ethnic group was 80 percent or above in each of the five States, and as high as 97 percent in Colorado and 96 percent in New Mexico (table 2, and figs. 1 and 2).

The transition of this population from that of immigrants to natives of native parentage is apparent from data on U. S. births for several decades and also from the inverse relationship between Mexican origin and age shown by the 1960 data. In 1960, only 10 percent of the Mexican-born people were children under 15 years old, while 55 percent of the Spanish-surname natives of native parentage were of this age group (table 3). On the other hand, 47 percent of the Mexican-born were 45 years of age or older, compared with just 11 percent of the natives of native parentage. As one demographic expert put it, "The aging and the aged generations were weighted with those of immigrant origin, while each new generation of youth was more native than the one that preceded it" (9).

Mobility

The mobility pattern of the Spanish-surname agricultural workers-- especially those in seasonal farm work-- is often that of temporary, relatively short-time movement to job opportunities, and return to a home base at the end of the season. Some farm laborers may move considerable distances to these jobs. Spanish-surname people are more likely to make these temporary moves for farm work than the Anglos in the Southwest area. The dominant stream of migration of a permanent nature, however, as indicated above, is from rural to urban areas.

Table 1.--Residence: Spanish-surname population of 5 Southwestern States, 1950 and 1960

Residence and year	Total		Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico		Texas	
	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.
Total: 1/												
1960	3,465	100	194	100	1,427	100	157	100	269	100	1,418	100
1950	2,290	100	128	100	760	100	118	100	249	100	1,034	100
Urban:												
1960	2,741	79	146	75	1,218	85	108	69	155	58	1,114	79
1950	1,520	66	79	61	576	76	59	50	102	41	704	68
Rural:												
1960	724	21	49	25	204	15	50	31	114	42	304	21
1950	770	34	50	39	185	24	60	50	147	59	330	32
Nonfarm:												
1960	542	16	37	19	154	11	40	25	99	37	212	15
1950	492	22	41	32	127	17	41	34	89	36	195	19
Farm:												
1960	183	5	12	6	54	4	10	6	15	5	92	6
1950	279	12	9	7	58	7	19	16	58	23	135	13

1/ Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (12), (13).

Table 2.--Nativity: Spanish-surname population of 5 Southwestern States, 1950 and 1960

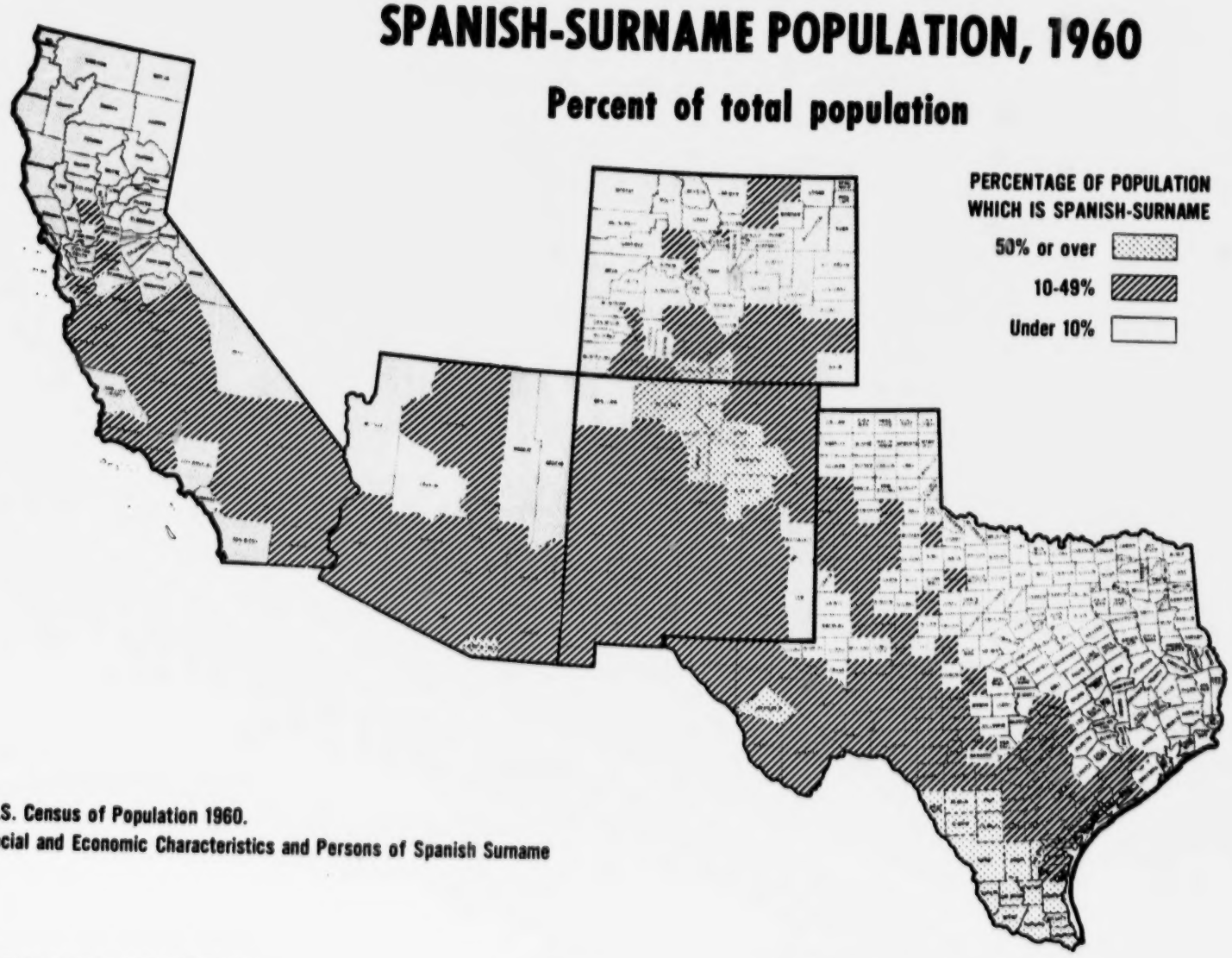
Nativity and year	Total		Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico		Texas	
	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.
Total:												
1960	3,465	100.0	194	100.0	1,427	100.0	157	100.0	269	100.0	1,418	100.0
1950	2,282	100.0	129	100.0	758	100.0	119	100.0	249	100.0	1,027	100.0
Native:												
1960	2,930	84.6	160	82.4	1,141	80.0	152	96.5	259	96.1	1,219	86.0
1950	1,889	82.9	105	82.1	592	78.2	114	95.7	238	96.1	841	81.8
Foreign-born:												
1960	535	15.4	34	17.6	285	20.0	5	3.5	11	3.9	199	14.0
1950	393	17.1	23	17.9	167	21.8	5	4.3	11	3.9	187	18.2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (12), (13).

Counties of 5 Southwestern States

SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION, 1960

Percent of total population



Source: U.S. Census of Population 1960.
General Social and Economic Characteristics and Persons of Spanish Surname

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

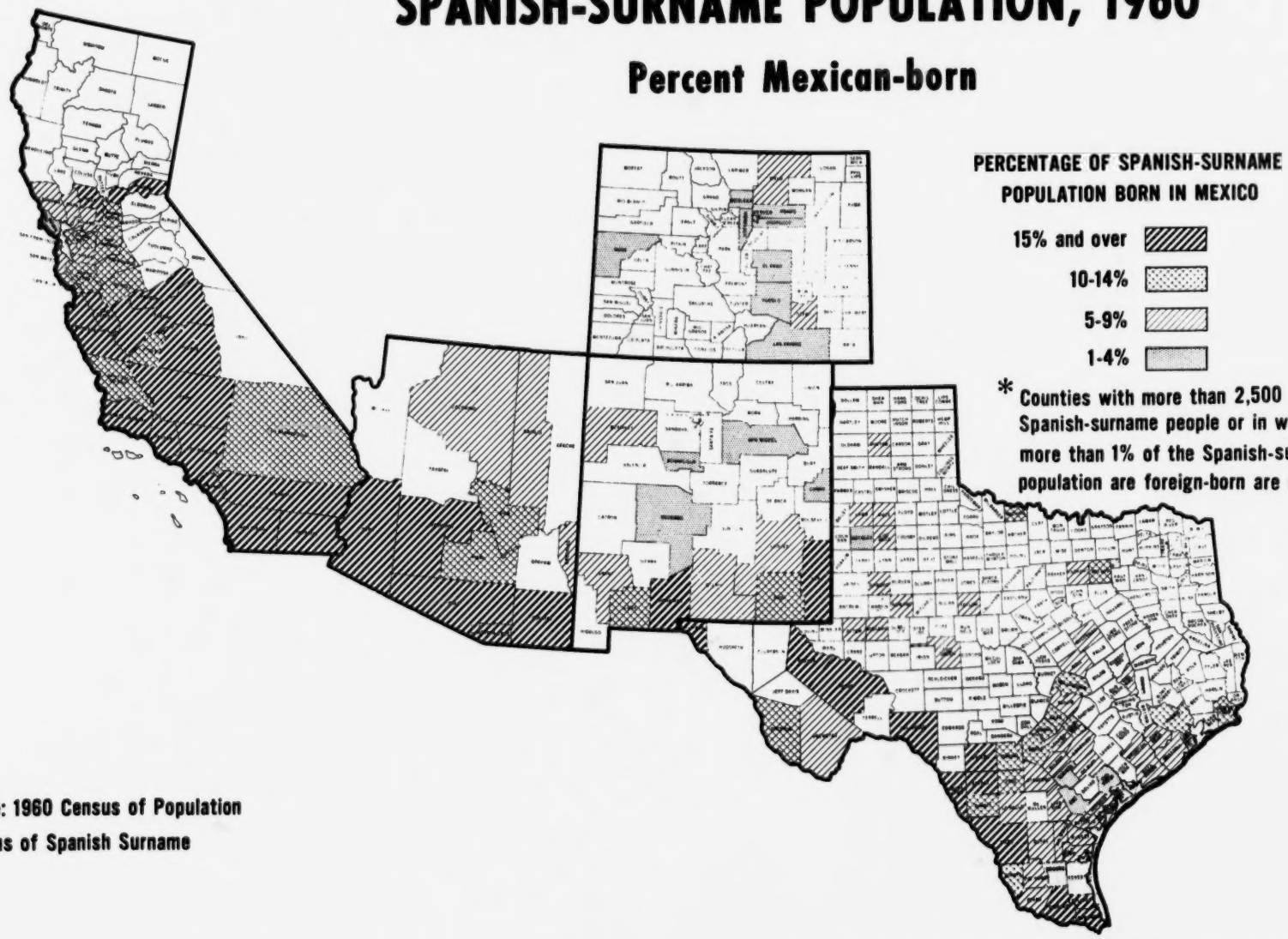
NEG. ERS 4887 67(1) ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

Figure 1

*Selected Counties of 5 Southwestern States**

SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION, 1960

Percent Mexican-born



PERCENTAGE OF SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION BORN IN MEXICO

- 15% and over
- 10-14%
- 5-9%
- 1-4%

* Counties with more than 2,500 Spanish-surname people or in which more than 1% of the Spanish-surname population are foreign-born are shown.

Source: 1960 Census of Population
Persons of Spanish Surname

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. ERS 4890 67(1) ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

Figure 2

Table 3.--Age by parentage: Spanish-surname population of the Southwest, 1960

Age	Total	Native born of native parentage	Native born of Mexican or mixed parentage	Born in Mexico
	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.
Total 1/	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-14	41.8	55.4	34.5	9.5
15-44	41.5	33.8	55.3	43.4
45-64	12.6	8.2	8.6	33.8
65 and over	4.0	2.4	1.5	13.5

1/ Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Taeuber, Irene B. (9).

The 1960 census, which recorded moves of various distances in the United States during the preceding 5 years, shows considerable instability of residence for Spanish Americans of the Southwest. Only 43 percent of the group 5 years old and over lived in the same house in 1960 as in 1955, compared with a U. S. average of 50 percent. However, mobility rates are very high in the Southwest in general because of substantial inmigration. Thus, the rate of movement for the Spanish-surname population was lower than that of the total population in the Southwest, in which just 40 percent of the population had not moved from 1955 to 1960. The highest incidence of movement for Spanish-surname people was among the farm males of Arizona and California, where about 53 and 25 percent, respectively, had lived outside of the United States 5 years earlier (table 4).

Sex Ratio

Since many of the Spanish-surname people of the Southwest are immigrants, it is not surprising to find that males outnumber females in the total population group, whereas in the United States as a whole, females now outnumber males. Data from the 1960 Census of Population show that there were approximately 103 males for every 100 females in the Spanish-surname population. The ratio was much higher for the farm population -- about 138 males for every 100 females.

Fertility

Figures for 1960 on the number of children born per 1,000 women show that rural women of Spanish-surname nearing the end of the childbearing period have borne an average of 2 more children per woman than other rural white women (table 5). Such fertility rates lead to very rapid population growth. With

Table 4.--Mobility by residence: Spanish-surname males 5 years old and over in 5 Southwestern States, 1960

Residence and State	1960 population	Total	1955 residence			Moved from abroad	Moved, residence not reported
			Same house as in 1960	Diff. house in same county	Diff. house in diff. county		
	Thou.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.
Total, 5 States---	1,473	100.0	43.3	35.6	13.2	5.4	2.5
Arizona---------	85	100.0	42.6	31.5	13.1	9.3	3.5
California------	625	100.0	35.6	37.7	15.2	8.2	3.3
Colorado--------	67	100.0	42.5	35.9	18.6	1.0	2.0
New Mexico------	113	100.0	58.4	26.2	12.3	1.8	1.3
Texas-----------	583	100.0	48.5	36.0	10.6	3.2	1.7
Urban-----------	1,139	100.0	42.8	38.5	12.3	4.4	2.0
Arizona-------	60	100.0	47.5	34.4	12.1	3.3	2.7
California----	519	100.0	36.6	40.0	14.0	6.8	2.6
Colorado------	46	100.0	39.4	38.2	19.1	1.0	2.3
New Mexico----	64	100.0	52.5	30.2	15.3	1.1	.9
Texas---------	450	100.0	48.2	38.4	9.4	2.6	1.4
Rural nonfarm---	243	100.0	46.4	27.9	16.8	5.8	3.1
Arizona-------	17	100.0	39.3	28.7	18.5	10.4	3.1
California----	74	100.0	29.7	29.7	25.1	10.7	4.8
Colorado------	17	100.0	49.1	31.0	17.2	.9	1.2
New Mexico----	43	100.0	65.4	22.1	8.6	1.8	2.0
Texas---------	92	100.0	51.8	28.3	13.6	3.6	2.7
Rural farm------	92	100.0	40.0	22.2	14.3	17.1	6.4
Arizona-------	8	100.0	12.8	14.8	9.2	52.8	10.4
California----	31	100.0	32.0	18.2	11.8	25.1	12.9
Colorado------	4	100.0	46.2	31.1	20.2	.7	1.8
New Mexico----	7	100.0	68.8	14.6	7.7	7.2	1.6
Texas---------	42	100.0	45.3	27.0	17.5	8.0	2.2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13).

Table 5.--Fertility by residence: Child-women ratio for Spanish-surname and other white population in the Southwest, 1960 1/

Residence	Spanish-surname	Other white
	No.	No.
Total:	3,810	2,258
Urban	3,629	2,170
Rural	4,657	2,694

1/ Number of children ever born per 1,000 women 35-44 years old, 1960.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13).

present death rates, an average of about 2,130 children would have to be born per 1,000 women to replace the parental population. The fertility level among Anglo rural whites in 1960 (2,694) was thus sufficient to produce a potential population growth of about 26 percent in a generation. But the fertility rate for Spanish rural people was sufficient to double that population in each generation (even allowing for a higher than average death rate). This level of natural increase is closer to that of underdeveloped nations than to that of Western society and reflects limited or ineffective use of birth control measures. The larger number of children per family means that the typically meager family income must be divided among more persons than in the Anglo population.

Dependency

A major economic result of the relatively large family size among the Spanish-surname population is a disproportionately large number of dependents under 15 years of age in relation to persons of working age. In 1960, all Spanish-surname residence groups had higher percentages of dependents in the under-15 age group than their counterparts in the total population, particularly in the urban sector (table 6). The situation was reversed in the case of dependents 65 years of age and older.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Income Distribution

Although the average income level of the Spanish-surname population in 1959 was higher than that of the Southwestern nonwhites, it was much below that of the area as a whole. As is usually the case, urban incomes were higher than rural incomes in each of the five Southwestern States.

Table 6.--Age by residence: Spanish-surname population in the Southwest and total U. S. population, 1960

Residence and age	Spanish-surname		United States	
	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.
Urban:				
Under 15	1,146	42	37,528	30
15-64	1,484	54	75,871	61
65 and over	110	4	11,316	9
Rural nonfarm:				
Under 15	232	43	13,598	34
15-64	287	53	23,092	57
65 and over	23	4	3,602	9
Rural farm:				
Under 15	72	39	4,374	33
15-64	105	57	7,832	58
65 and over	6	4	1,256	9

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13), (14).

More than half (52 percent) of the rural and not quite a third (31 percent) of the urban Spanish-surname families had less than $3,000 income in 1959, the level of income generally associated with poverty conditions. Texas had the greatest incidence of low-income Spanish-surname families: 69 percent among the rural and 47 percent among the urban population. The lowest incidence of poverty-associated incomes occurred in California where only 17 percent of the urban and 30 percent of the rural families were in this low-income category (table 7).

Figure 3, which compares the median family income of Spanish-surname people in selected counties of the five Southwestern States with the national median for 1959 income, reveals the areas where low family income was most concentrated. The lower income counties were those in which the Spanish-surname

Table 7.--Family income in 1959: Spanish-surname heads of urban and rural households of 5 Southwestern States, 1960

1959 Family income	Total		Families in --									
			Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico		Texas	
	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.
Urban families 1/	567	100.0	29	100.0	267	100.0	22	100.0	32	100.0	217	100.0
Total with income:												
Under $3,000	175	30.8	8	28.5	47	17.5	6	28.3	11	33.1	103	47.3
Under $1,000	43	7.6	2	6.9	11	4.2	1	5.0	3	7.8	26	12.0
$1,000 - $2,999	132	23.2	6	21.6	36	13.3	5	23.3	8	25.3	77	35.3
$3,000 and over	393	69.2	21	71.5	220	82.5	16	71.7	22	66.9	114	52.7
Rural families 1/	131	100.0	8	100.0	38	100.0	10	100.0	22	100.0	54	100.0
Total with income:												
Under $3,000	68	52.2	3	39.3	11	30.2	5	50.4	12	53.8	37	69.2
Under $1,000	18	14.2	1	8.0	2	6.8	1	9.4	4	16.4	11	20.3
$1,000 - $2,999	50	38.0	2	31.3	9	23.4	4	41.0	8	37.4	26	48.9
$3,000 and over	63	47.8	5	60.7	26	69.8	5	49.6	10	46.2	16	30.8

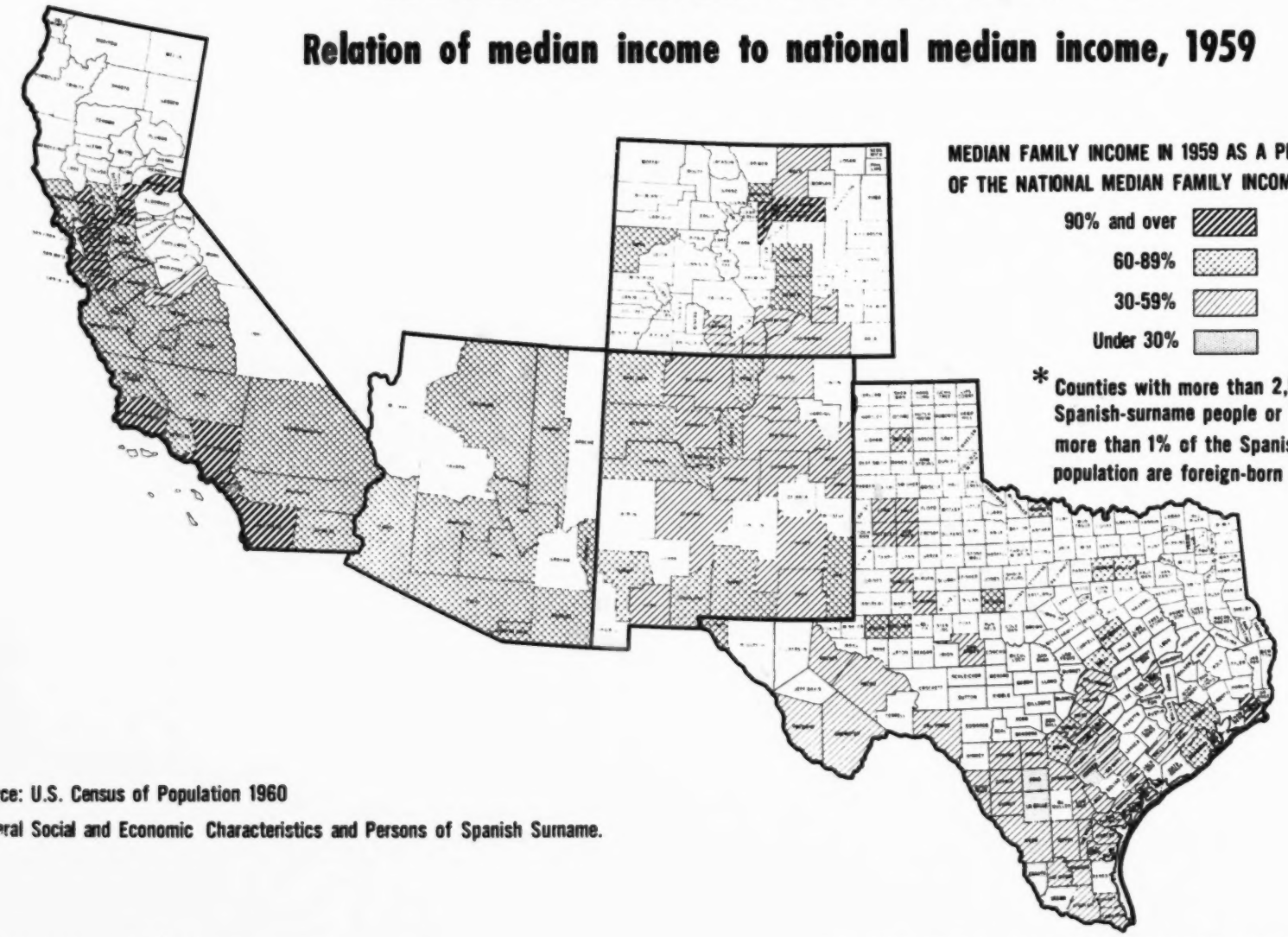
1/ Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13).

Selected Counties of 5 Southwestern States*

SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION, 1960

Relation of median income to national median income, 1959



MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME IN 1959 AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE NATIONAL MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

- 90% and over
- 60-89%
- 30-59%
- Under 30%

* Counties with more than 2,500 Spanish-surname people or in which more than 1% of the Spanish-surname population are foreign-born are shown.

Source: U.S. Census of Population 1960
General Social and Economic Characteristics and Persons of Spanish Surname.

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Figure 3

people were concentrated, especially those in which large numbers of foreign-born persons lived. Here again, the unfavorable position of the Texas population showed up clearly. Of the five States, California alone had a significant number of counties in which median income of many Spanish-surname people approached the national average.

Figure 4 shows the percentage of the Spanish-surname families with incomes of less than $3,000 in 1959, by county, in the five Southwestern States. The close correlation between level of income and the Spanish-surname proportion of the county population is also apparent from this chart. Reasons for the low-income status of many of the Spanish-surname group will be made clear in the "Cultural Traits" section (pp. 25-26) of this report.

Labor Force Participation

At the time the 1960 Census of Population was taken, about 54 percent of the Spanish-surname people of working age were in the labor force, a somewhat lower proportion than among the total population in the Southwest (56 percent) (table 8). Participation rates were higher among urban people than rural, in part because the census was taken in March, a relatively slack season for agricultural workers. In both residence groups, labor force participation was higher in 1960 than in 1950.

Industrial Composition

In 1960, some 50 percent of the rural Spanish-Americans employed in the Southwest were engaged in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, nearly twice as large a proportion as in the total rural population of the Southwest. Whereas more than 7 percent of urban Spanish-surname persons were in this category in 1960, only 2 percent of the total urban population of the area was so employed. One-fifth to one-fourth of both urban population groups were engaged in wholesale and retail trade and in manufacturing. No other industrial categories commanded as much as 10 percent of either the rural or urban Spanish-surname or total Southwest population (table 9).

Occupational Pattern

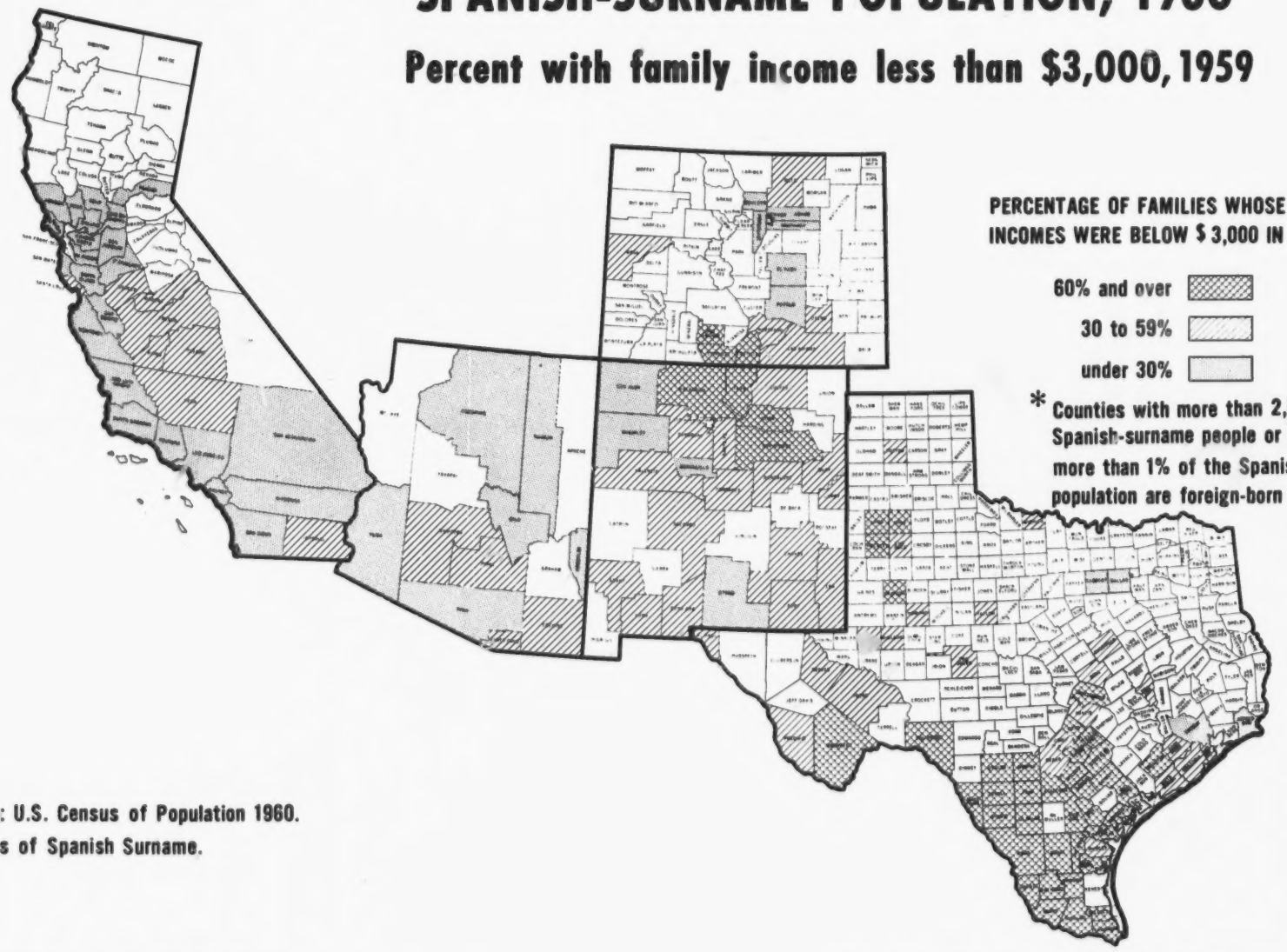
It has been said recently that "Mexican-Americans are, in large part, an unskilled pool of industrial labor" (1). This is particularly true if one includes in the industrial category those who work primarily in the fruit, vegetable, and cotton areas of California, Arizona, and the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. There are also large contingents in the sugarbeet fields of Colorado.

Table 10 and figures 5 and 6 compare the occupational distribution of the employed Spanish-surname male population with that of total employed males in the Southwest in 1960. The relative scarcity of more highly trained persons among employed Spanish-Americans is evident in both the rural and urban population -- professionals, craftsmen, and service workers represent small proportions of total employed persons among the Spanish-surname group.

*Selected Counties of 5 Southwestern States**

SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION, 1960

Percent with family income less than $3,000, 1959



PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WHOSE INCOMES WERE BELOW $ 3,000 IN 1959

- 60% and over
- 30 to 59%
- under 30%

* Counties with more than 2,500 Spanish-surname people or in which more than 1% of the Spanish-surname population are foreign-born are shown.

Source: U.S. Census of Population 1960.
Persons of Spanish Surname.

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Figure 4

Table 8.--Labor force, industry, and employment status by residence: Spanish-surname and total population 14 years old and over in the Southwest, 1950 and 1960

Labor force, industry, employment status, and residence	Spanish-surname		Southwest	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
	Thou.	Thou.	Thou.	Thou.
Population 14 years old and over--				
Total	2,085	1,430	20,438	15,650
Urban	1,648	962	16,532	11,357
Rural	437	468	3,906	4,293
	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not in labor force	46.5	50.0	43.5	46.4
In labor force	53.5	50.0	56.5	53.6
Armed forces	1/.9	1/.6	2.5	2.0
Civilian	52.6	49.4	53.9	51.6
Employed	48.1	43.8	51.0	48.4
Agriculture	6.9	10.7	2.8	5.3
Nonagriculture 2/	41.2	33.1	48.2	43.1
Unemployed	4.5	5.6	2.9	3.2
Urban population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not in labor force	45.9	49.6	42.3	45.2
In labor force	54.1	50.4	57.7	54.8
Armed forces	1/.7	1/.4	2.2	1.7
Civilian	53.4	50.0	55.5	53.2
Employed	48.7	43.8	52.5	49.7
Agriculture	3.1	3.6	.8	.9
Nonagriculture 2/	45.6	40.2	51.7	48.8
Unemployed	4.7	6.2	3.0	3.5
Rural population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not in labor force	48.8	50.8	48.3	49.6
In labor force	51.2	49.2	51.7	50.4
Armed forces	1/1.5	1/.8	4.5	2.7
Civilian	49.7	48.4	47.2	47.7
Employed	46.1	43.7	44.6	45.2
Agriculture	21.6	25.2	11.2	16.9
Nonagriculture 2/	24.5	18.5	33.4	28.3
Unemployed	3.6	4.7	2.6	2.5

1/ Males only.
2/ Includes industry not reported.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (12), (13), (14).

Table 9.--Industry of employed persons by residence: Spanish-surname and total persons in the Southwest, 1960

Industry	Spanish-surname				Southwest			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.
Total 1/	802	100.0	201	100.0	8,682	100.0	1,743	100.0
Agric., forestry, and fisheries	59	7.4	101	50.2	191	2.2	473	27.2
Mining	8	.9	5	2.5	118	1.4	56	3.2
Construction	70	8.7	11	5.5	589	6.8	136	7.8
Manufacturing	192	24.0	15	7.6	1,885	21.7	222	12.7
Transp., comm., and other pub. utilities	54	6.7	9	4.3	642	7.4	98	5.6
Wholesale and retail trade	167	20.9	21	10.4	1,789	20.7	267	15.4
Finance, ins., and real estate	20	2.5	1	.6	453	5.2	37	2.1
Business and repair services	23	2.9	3	1.3	296	3.4	36	2.1
Personal serv.	64	8.0	11	5.4	581	6.7	98	5.6
Entertainment and recreation serv.	8	1.0	1	.5	106	1.2	11	.6
Prof. and related services	55	6.9	8	4.0	1,115	12.8	164	9.4
Public admin.	44	5.5	5	2.7	524	6.0	83	4.8
Industry not reported	37	4.6	10	5.0	391	4.5	62	3.5

1/ Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13), (14).

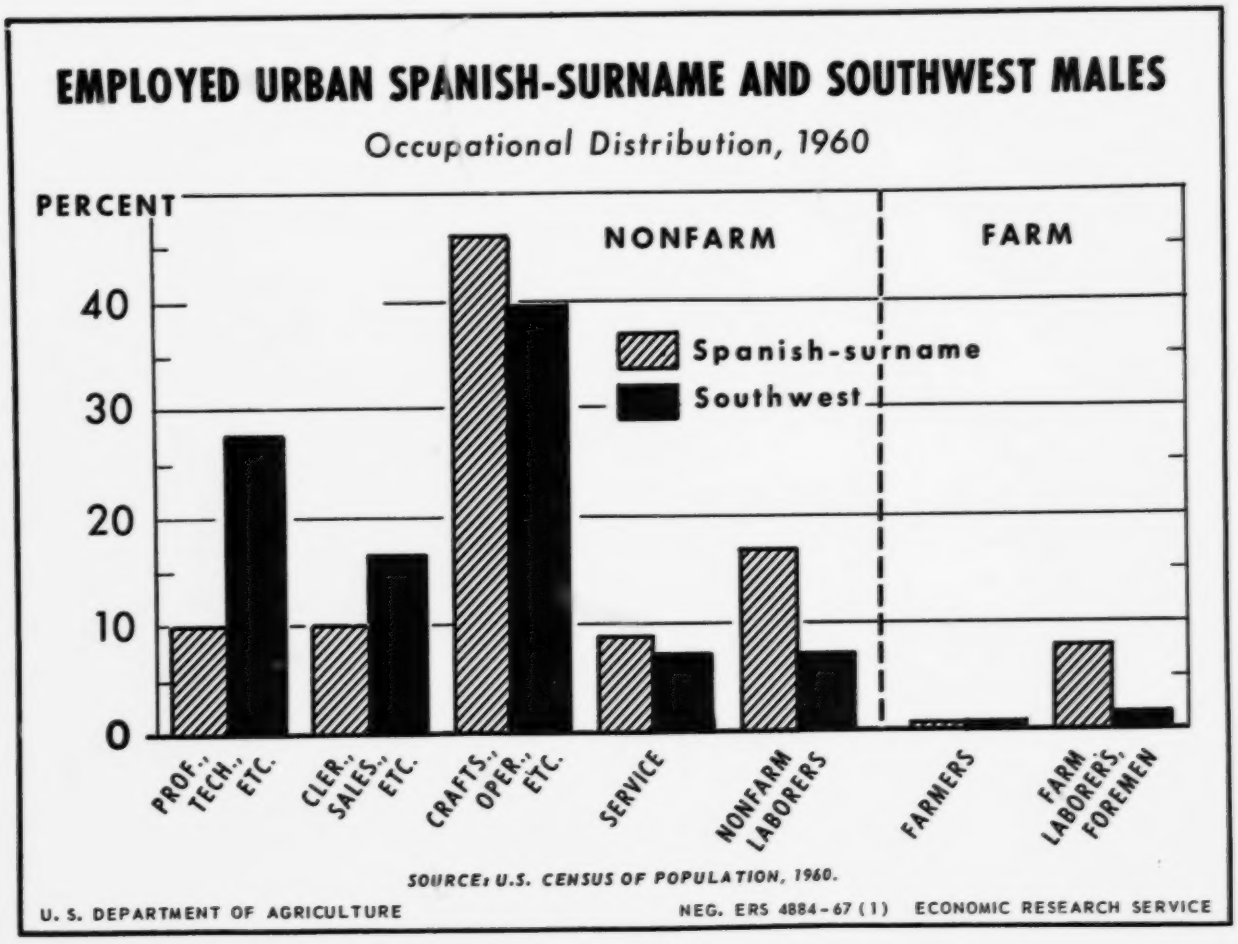

Figure 5

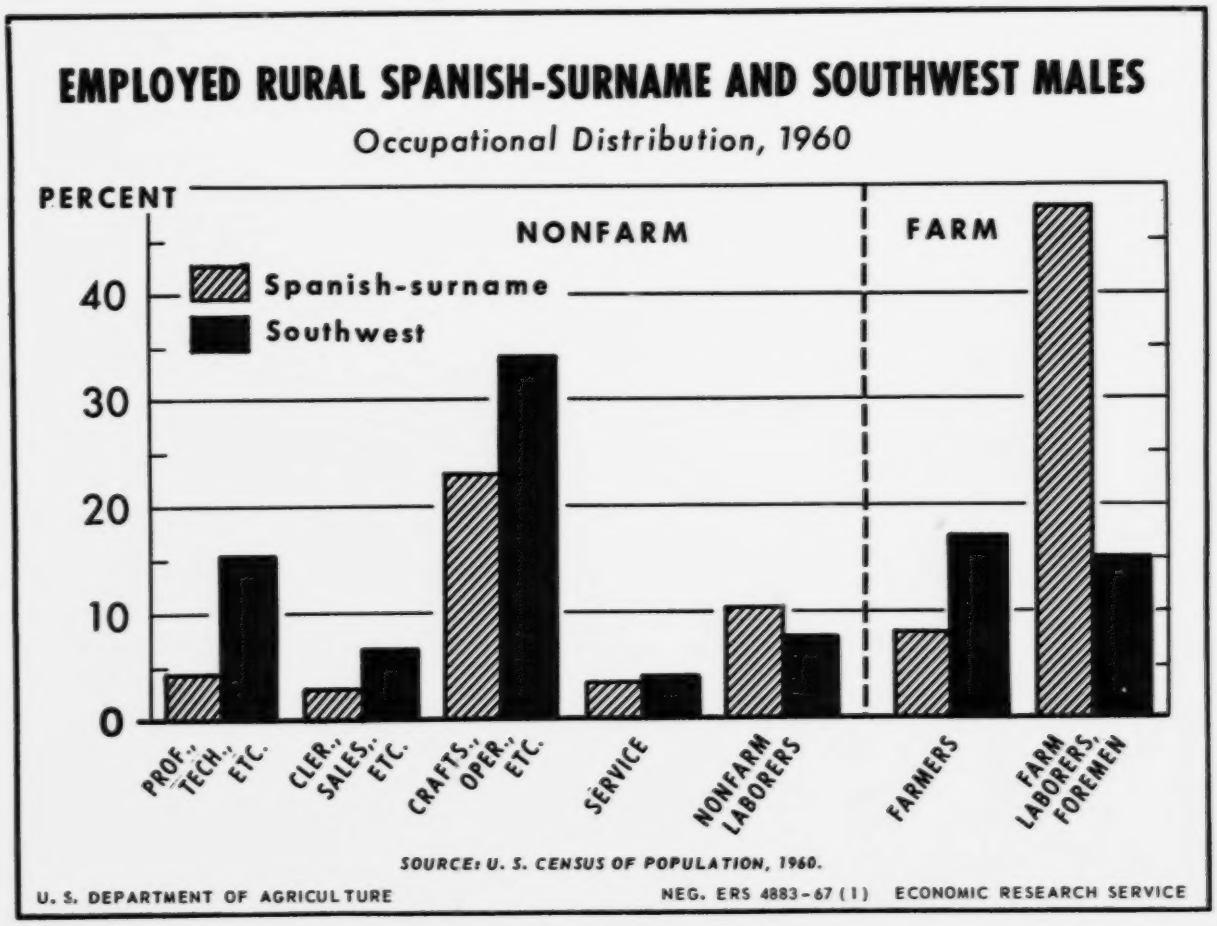

Figure 6

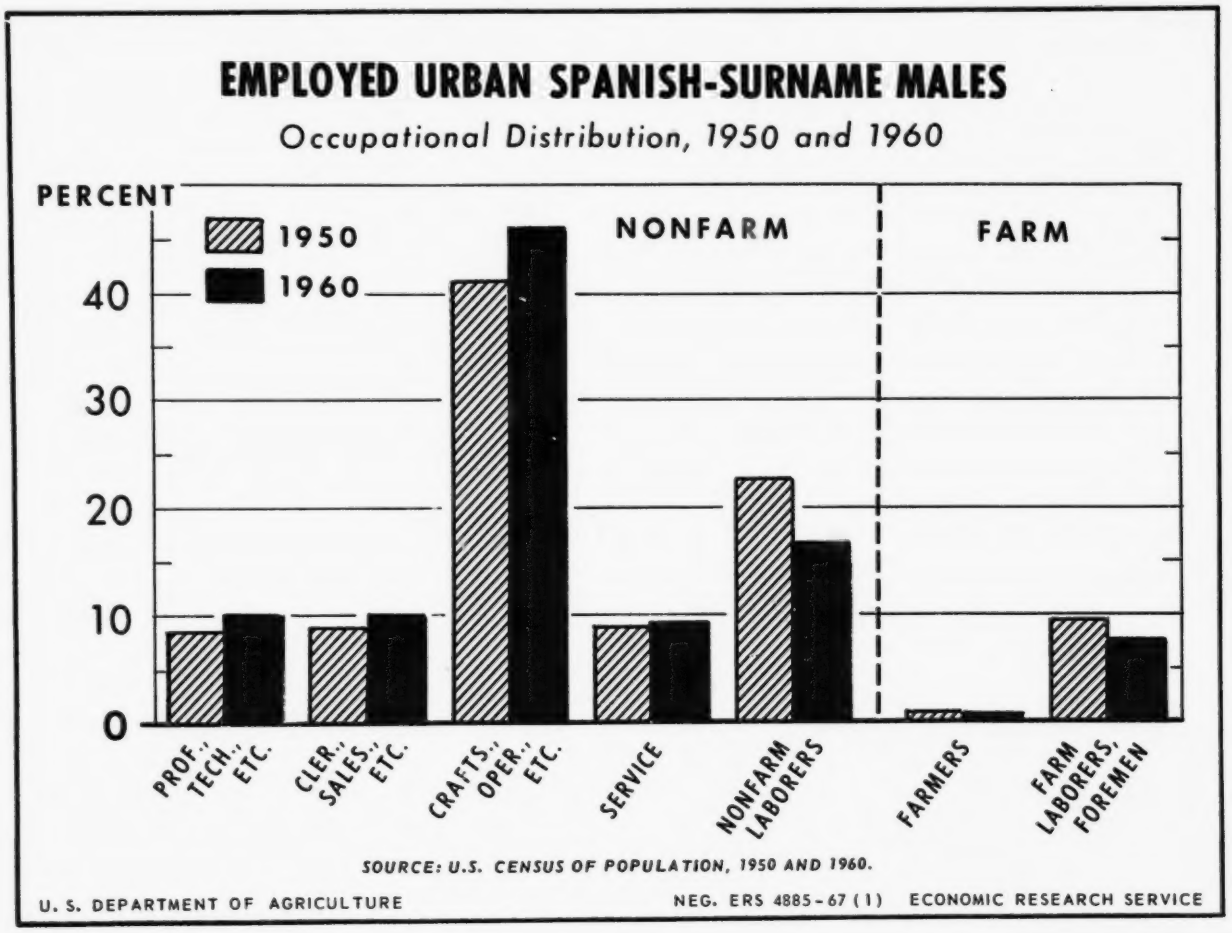

Figure 7

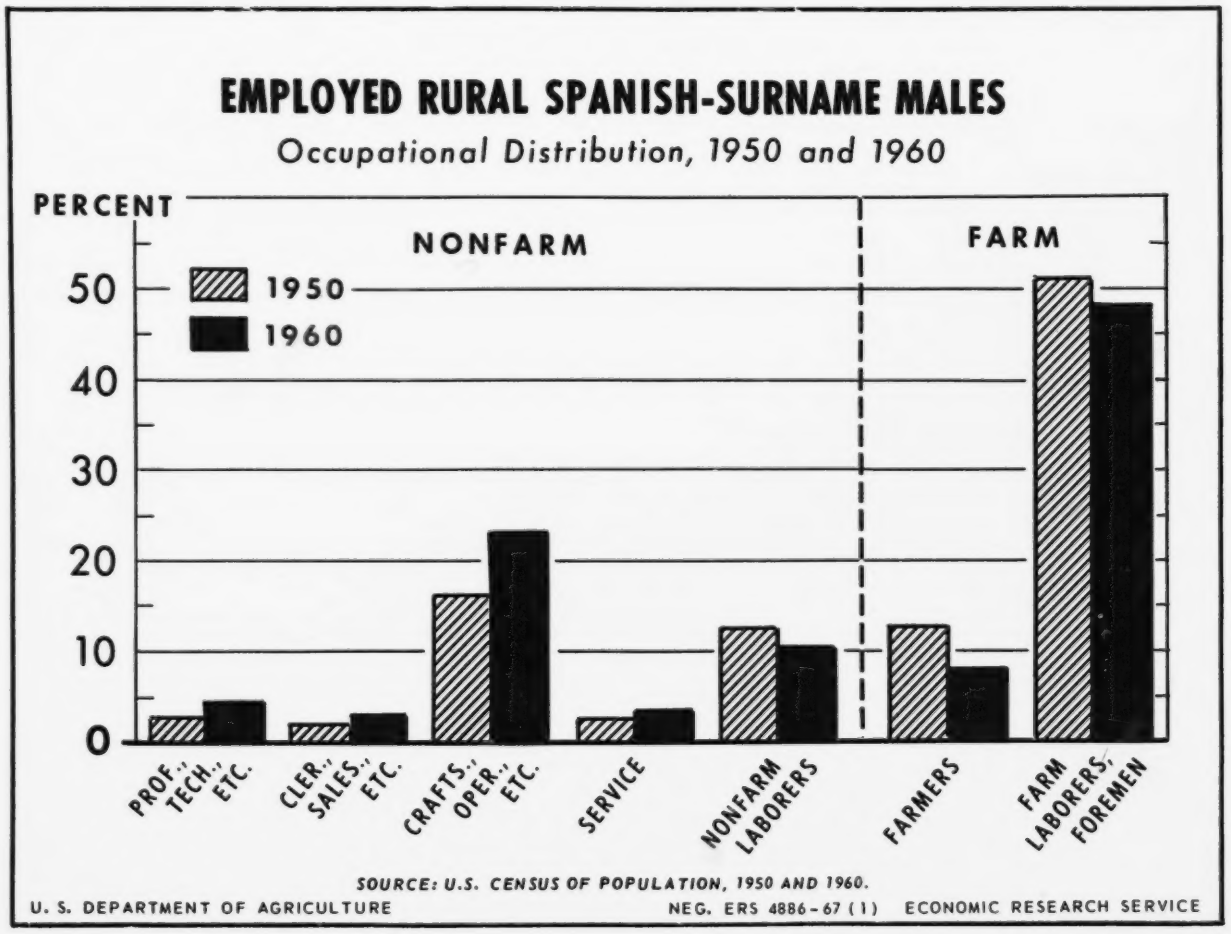

Figure 8

Table 10.--Occupation of employed males by residence: Spanish-surname and total males in the Southwest, 1960

Occupation	Spanish-surname				Southwest			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.	Thou.	Pct.
Total	569	100.0	167	100.0	5,737	100.0	1,311	100.0
Professional, technical, managers, officials, and proprietors except farm	54	9.5	7	4.2	1,503	26.2	193	14.7
Farmers and farm managers	4	.6	13	7.6	46	.8	214	16.4
Clerical, sales, and kindred	54	9.5	5	2.8	893	15.6	85	6.5
Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and kindred workers	249	43.7	36	21.7	2,146	37.3	429	32.7
Service workers including private household	48	8.5	5	3.2	394	6.9	51	3.9
Farm laborers, foremen	41	7.3	76	45.5	80	1.4	191	14.5
Laborers except farm and mine	90	15.8	16	9.7	383	6.7	97	7.4
Occupation not reported	29	5.1	9	5.3	292	5.1	51	3.9

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13), (14).

In the rural population, almost half (46 percent) of the Spanish-surname males worked as farm laborers as compared with only about 15 percent of the total rural population of the Southwest in 1960. This concentration of the rural Spanish people in the farm labor category accounts, in large part, for the overall low income status of the group. Not only are the wages of this group comparatively low, but much of their work is highly seasonal, resulting in frequent periods of unemployment.

In spite of the continued concentration of the Spanish people in laboring and other lower status occupations, some upward occupational mobility is occurring (figs. 7 and 8). In both the rural and urban populations, the proportions of the labor force in professional, clerical, crafts, and service occupations increased between 1950 and 1960 while the proportions in farm and nonfarm labor declined.

Educational Level

On the average, the educational achievement of Spanish-surname people of the Southwest lags behind national levels for all residence groups, despite overall improvement between 1950 and 1960.

Rural nonfarm males 14 years of age and over in 1960 still had a median of only 5 years of schooling completed in Texas and 7 to 8 years in the other four States, compared with 9.5 years for the male nonfarm population of the Nation. Attainment for rural nonfarm females was a little higher, ranging from a low of 5.2 years in Texas to 8.6 years in California, compared with a national average of 10.1 years (table 11).

Table 11.--Median school years completed by residence and sex: Spanish-surname population 14 years old and over in 5 Southwestern States and the United States, 1960

State and United States	Urban		Rural nonfarm		Rural farm	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Arizona	8.3	8.3	7.1	8.0	2.9	6.0
California	9.2	9.4	8.1	8.6	4.9	8.5
Colorado	8.7	8.9	8.1	8.1	8.1	8.3
New Mexico	8.8	8.7	8.0	8.2	6.9	8.0
Texas	6.7	6.4	5.0	5.2	4.1	5.0
United States	10.9	11.2	9.5	10.1	8.8	9.6

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13), (14).

For farm males, the lag of the Spanish-surname population was even greater. In 1960, the average attainment for farm males 14 years of age and older varied from a median of 2.9 school years in Arizona and 4.1 in Texas to 8.1 in Colorado; for farm females, the median figures ranged from 5.0 years in Texas to 8.5 years in California.

Other measures also indicate that major differences exist in educational achievement among the various Southwestern States. For example, among urban Spanish-surname persons in Texas 14 years of age and over, some 15 percent reported no schooling (table 12). If persons with no schooling are added to those who have had no more than 4 years, most of whom can be considered functionally illiterate, the incidence of little or no schooling among urban Spanish-surname people in Texas is 37 percent, compared with only 15 percent in Colorado. Figures for the rural populations showed even lower rates of achievement in 1960, with more than a third of the entire Spanish-surname population 14 years old and over never having advanced through the fifth grade.

The early educational mortality of the Spanish-surname population in the Southwest is one of the highest of any group in the Nation. This is particularly true for the rural population. Differences in enrollment rates between the Southwest and the United States in the 14- to 15-year age group were not particularly marked, except in Texas, but became pronounced at the 16-year level. At all ages considered, however, dropout rates of the rural population were generally much higher for the Spanish-surname population than for the total U. S. population (table 13).

In all three residence groups in Texas, the percentage of 16- and 17-year olds not in school was more than twice as high as the comparable age group for the United States (table 13). The low rates of school attendance of the Spanish-surname group are especially serious when one considers that the school is almost the only medium through which many of these children can learn correct English.

Housing and Amenities

Because census information on housing for Spanish-surname people has been reported for a small urban sample only, the current status of rural housing for this ethnic group is not known. However, those acquainted with the Southwest believe that living conditions in general, including size of quarters, possession of household items, etc., are below the level of reasonable expectation for most of the area.

A study of rural households in north central New Mexico, mainly of families of Spanish descent, revealed that modern living conveniences were rather limited (10). Only 30 percent of the households in the study area had electric or gas stoves or heating systems; only 25 percent had electric or gas hot water heaters; nearly 70 percent had radios, but only 39 percent had television sets; 33 percent had piped running water and 26 percent had flush toilets; 89 percent had electricity, but only 13 percent had telephones.

In a report of a sample of rural and urban Spanish Americans in Texas (8), it was found that both groups possessed household items such as radios,

Table 12.--Years of school completed by residence and sex: Spanish-surname population 14 years old and over in 5 Southwestern States and total U. S. population, 1960

Residence, sex, and years of schooling	Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico		Texas		United States	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.
Urban:												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No schooling	8	8	7	6	5	4	5	6	14	16	2	2
1 - 4 years	14	14	11	10	11	10	12	12	22	22	5	4
5 - 8 years	41	43	30	31	40	39	37	36	36	35	28	26
H. S. 1 - 3 years	20	20	26	27	24	26	23	23	15	14	23	24
H. S. 4 years	11	14	16	20	13	16	14	18	8	10	22	29
College, 1 year or more	6	3	10	6	7	5	9	5	5	3	20	15
Rural nonfarm:												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No schooling	13	9	12	9	7	6	8	8	22	22	2	2
1 - 4 years	23	17	18	14	16	15	17	16	28	27	8	6
5 - 8 years	37	41	32	35	45	44	40	39	33	34	37	33
H. S. 1 - 3 years	16	19	21	23	21	21	20	22	10	10	22	24
H. S. 4 years	8	12	12	15	9	11	10	12	5	5	20	25
College, 1 year or more	3	2	5	4	4	3	5	3	2	2	11	10
Rural farm:												
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No schooling	31	15	21	8	6	4	10	7	25	22	2	2
1 - 4 years	41	27	29	15	14	14	27	17	33	28	10	6
5 - 8 years	19	39	27	36	49	44	36	43	30	34	44	38
H. S. 1 - 3 years	5	11	13	20	18	21	17	20	8	10	20	23
H. S. 4 years	2	6	7	16	10	12	7	10	3	5	18	22
College, 1 year or more	2	2	3	5	3	5	3	3	1	1	6	9

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13), (14).

Table 13.--Youths not enrolled in school, by residence: Spanish-surname youths 14-19 years old in 5 Southwestern States and total U. S. population, 1960

Residence and age	Arizona	California	Colorado	New Mexico	Texas	Total U. S. population
	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.	Pct.
All classes:						
14-15	10	7	11	7	17	6
16-17	32	26	32	24	41	26
18-19	63	67	66	58	69	58
Urban:						
14-15	9	6	10	7	15	5
16-17	30	24	34	24	40	18
18-19	62	66	66	59	67	68
Rural nonfarm:						
14-15	11	11	11	7	22	7
16-17	33	35	29	23	45	22
18-19	64	73	64	56	74	66
Rural farm:						
14-15	15	8	15	4	24	7
16-17	49	42	24	22	48	18
18-19	80	70	69	60	71	61

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census (13), (14).

television sets, and washing machines. Differences appeared primarily in connection with availability of indoor plumbing and running water. Only a third of the Spanish-American households in Atascosa County had indoor plumbing, while 95 percent of the homes in San Antonio had this amenity. Hot running water was in the homes of only 1 in 4 rural households, but in 2 out of 3 urban homes.

Various kinds of temporary living quarters are available to rural seasonal or migrant agricultural workers in the Spanish-surname population. Some seasonal workers live in agricultural labor camps, some in housing constructed by local housing authorities, some in obsolete hotels, motels, or rooming houses, and some in trailers or tents. Some growers furnish housing privately to their workers. Housing constructed for Mexican workers brought into the United States under P. L. 78 (terminated in 1964) was designed for single workers and is not usable for families without conversion (6).

Information is not available to compare either the quantity or quality of existing housing for Spanish-surname seasonal and migrant agricultural laborers with housing for other workers. However, substantial improvement is likely needed in housing accommodations for both resident and migratory Spanish-surname people in the rural Southwest.

Cultural Traits

As noted earlier, a highly significant characteristic of the Spanish-surname people is the large size of their families. Equally important is the fact that many families are of the cohesive, patriarchal, extended type. Neither large family size nor cohesiveness was a disadvantage in and of itself in the earlier agrarian context of the Southwest. In a modern industrialized economy, however, a large number of dependents is a serious burden to low-income, poorly educated, untrained parents. Mothers in the Spanish-surname population, with numerous young children at home, for example, find it difficult to enter the labor market to add to family income. The extended family is likely to be multigenerational, and therefore often adds grandparents and other relatives to an already overcrowded household. Family cohesiveness tends to reduce participation in formal or informal groups, making it difficult for assistance programs to enlist the family's cooperation and involvement. Also, due to the numerous heirs in a large family, land owned by the small farmers among the Spanish-surname people is eventually fragmented into very small, uneconomic units through inheritance. This parcelization over time has occurred in parts of the Southwest.

Family loyalty and strong local attachments sometimes inhibit the permanent outmigration of Spanish-surname people from their home communities. Their ties are strong and deeply rooted, particularly among the older generations. When migration for employment occurs, it is apt to be viewed as temporary, with return to the home base after some months.

Resistance to learning English and so-called "Anglo ways" is in part responsible for the poor educational achievement of the Spanish-surname people, although other factors are also responsible as pointed out above. Loyalty to their own traditions and culture is quite understandable and should be respected, but it often represents a barrier between the Spanish people and teachers,

welfare workers, and others in the community. It also helps to explain the removal of those of Spanish descent from the mainstream of American society and points up some of the difficulties of the younger generation in particular in trying to bridge the two cultures.

As stated earlier in this report, there has been some overall improvement in educational achievement in the 1950-60 decade and some slight advance in the occupations in which the Spanish-surname people are employed. Presumably their acculturation will increase as they attain further education and more adequate training in higher paying skills. This may very well lead to more occupational and social mobility and a more favorable milieu in which the Spanish-surname people of the Southwest may live and work.

IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS FOR PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING

Although many undesirable facets in an agricultural system that necessitates the use of migratory farm laborers have been recognized for a long time, many of them persist despite long-term, if generally limited, attempts to alleviate them. The more basic of these efforts revolve around family functions, education for children of school age, and health and medical care in both rural and urban areas. Any program designed to ameliorate living and working conditions of the lower income Spanish-surname population of the Southwest would be inadequate if basic problems of the migratory worker were ignored.

The relatively large number of Spanish-speaking farmers, mostly owners of small acreages in the hill and mountain sections of southern Colorado and north-central New Mexico, have not been reached by public programs. Their many special problems--language handicaps, isolation, lack of water, antiquated farming methods, and the peculiar organization and distribution of their small plots--are not thoroughly understood and are not encompassed in public projects in the area. Social and economic studies could help solve these problems.

The comparatively high incidence of untrained or semitrained workers among the rural Spanish-surname population suggests that these people are not now participating in training programs available to them through governmental and other sources. Language and other cultural factors contribute to this nonparticipation. Lack of competent training has become an important factor in occupational and living adjustments made by many rural Spanish-surname persons who migrate to cities.

Although school facilities in rural areas of the Southwest have improved during recent years, they are still inadequate in many areas. In terms of attendance at school, grades completed, and other measures, the Spanish-surname children of the Southwest are still among the most underprivileged in the Nation. Children in Spanish-surname families frequently have been enrolled in schools requiring use of English only, and many have dropped out of school at an early age. Moreover, many have not taken advantage of the few educational opportunities that do exist. As a result, educational limitations have been passed along from one generation to the next. In spite of some improvement, schools in many rural sections are still poor and distances to them are great, teachers are not well trained, and school attendance is limited.

Inadequate knowledge of English has severely restricted employment opportunities. Jobs available to the Spanish-surname population often have been at the lowest wage levels. Many of the more capable and ambitious of these people have found it extremely difficult to work their way up in the occupational hierarchy even with on-the-job experience.

Language handicaps have also limited contacts with the larger social and cultural world. Spanish-surname people have remained together spatially both in the country and in the cities. This social and cultural isolation has led to prejudice, misunderstanding, and apathy on the part of the public with respect to the problems such isolation has produced.

A review of existing research indicates a deficiency in information pertaining to the problems and situations of the Spanish-surname population of the Southwest. For realistic assistance programs, whether technical, educational, or welfare, there is need for a basic long-run program of research. It should permit the gathering and analysis of data in the field specifically focused on the problems of these people. Relationships to the physical environment, including the rural and urban cultural milieux, should be carefully studied in order to surmount difficult barriers to economic and social development.

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